DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 183 492 SO 012 431

AUTHOR Anderson, Gerald D.: Olson, David B.
TITLE Transcript of Audio Narrative Portion of: Scandinavian Heritage. A Set of Five Audio-Visual Film Strip/Cassette Presentations.
INSTITUTION Moorhead State Univ., Minn.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Ethnic Heritage Studies Branch.
PUB DATE 78
NOTE 42p.: For related documents, see SO 012 429-430

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation: American Culture: Cultural Awareness: Cultural Background: Cultural Differences: *Cultural Education: *Ethnic Groups: *Ethnic Studies: Immigrants: Oral History: *Primary Sources: Secondary Education: Social History: Social Influences: Tape Recordings
IDENTIFIERS Ethnic Heritage Studies Program Act: Scandinavia: Scandinavians Scandinavian Heritage Project

ABSTRACT

The document presents the transcript of the audio narrative portion of approximately 100 interviews with first and second generation Scandinavian immigrants to the United States. The document is intended for use by secondary school classroom teachers as they develop and implement educational programs related to the Scandinavian heritage in America. The interviews are presented in five chapters--emigration/immigration from Scandinavia, rural Scandinavian settlements, urban Scandinavian settlements, Scandinavian acculturation and assimilation, and Scandinavian ethnic retention. For each topic, experiences, impressions, recollections, and anecdotes are presented in the words of individuals who participated in the Scandinavian experience in America. Data is presented in the actual words of those interviewed. In addition, bridging narration and background information is presented on Scandinavian settlement in general and on the speakers and their families in particular. Emphasis throughout the transcript is on individual perceptions rather than historical accuracy. (DB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED183492

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Kenneth Smemo

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

TRANSCRIPT OF AUDIO NARRATIVE PORTION OF:

Scandinavian Heritage

A Set of Five Audio-Visual Film Strip/Cassette Presentations

by

Gerald D. Anderson

and

David B. Olson

SO 012 431

Prepared as part of Scandinavian Heritage Project (Under a grant from Ethnic Studies Branch, Office of Education, HEW), 1978

Moorhead State University
Moorhead, MN 56560

THE SCANDINAVIAN HERITAGE IN AMERICA

Five taped narratives largely in the words of participants who experienced emigration, immigration, acculturation and assimilation of Scandinavians in America, accompanied by photographs illustrating the experience.

#1: EMIGRATION/IMMIGRATION FROM SCANDINAVIA

#2: SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT: RURAL

#3: SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT: URBAN

#4: SCANDINAVIAN ACCULTURATION/ASSIMILATION

#5: SCANDINAVIAN ETHNIC RETENTION

Selection of oral reminiscences and bridging narration by

Gerald D. Anderson

Selection of accompanying visuals by

David B. Olson

Produced under Scandinavian Heritage Project Grant (Ethnic Studies Branch, Office of Education, HEW), Moorhead State University, Moorhead, MN 56560; 1978.

INTRODUCTION

In making its proposal to the Ethnic Heritage Branch of the Office of Education, HEW, for funding the creation of curricular materials devoted to the Scandinavian Heritage in America, Moorhead State University cited the suggested utilization of a resource that had already been created; close to a hundred in-depth taped interviews with Scandinavian immigrants and their children. Aside from various Scandinavian specialists on the Moorhead State faculty and available in the Fargo-Moorhead area that would be involved, this body of oral histories by individuals who actually participated in the process of immigration and acculturation was most unique and valuable as source material for teaching aids and the federal grant that was ultimately given was approved to some extent, no doubt, because of the availability of this original material.

The "data bank" of orally-gathered experiences, impressions, reminiscences and anecdotes by "living witnesses" at the grass-roots level had been gathered as a special project undertaken by the Northwest Minnesota Historical Center at Moorhead State University, supported by its parent organization, the Minnesota Historical Society. Dr. Gerald D. Anderson, working under this project, had done most of the identification of subjects and interviewing in the project, and so was in the very best position to know the contents of this massive collection well and so to choose parts from them which would give a cohesive, chronological, yet intensely personal overview of the entire process essentially common to most of them. The subjects chosen range over all five of the Scandinavian national sub-groups, and their memories reflect experiences in country as well as urban settlements, over various periods of time, and in varying situations as they made their American adjustment. The five audio tapes were not intended to give the listener a complete, factual body of data pertaining to each sub-topic, but rather impressions of each garnered from the mouths and minds of some who participated.

The actual voices of those interviewed have been incorporated into the five tapes whenever the fidelity and audibility of the original tapes permitted easy understanding of what is being said; in all cases the actual words used by these "living witnesses" have been utilized exactly as they spoke them. Many of those interviewed were old and most had retained some degree of a Scandinavian broque, which can make from some difficulty in understanding every word on first hearing, particularly by younger students unfamiliar with Scandinavian-American speech patterns and accents.

This booklet contains the actual transcripts of the contents of the five tapes, including bridging narration prepared by Dr. Anderson. Some familiarity with these narrations by the teacher beforehand can be useful in helping students understand and get the most meaning out of them when played accompanied by the film strips. It was felt by the Project Staff that these composite narratives form the heart of these five audio-visual presentations and students viewing and listening to them should be encouraged to listen attentively and actively.

For visual depictions to accompany and help illustrate further the material in the narratives, David B. Olson of the Project Staff scoured hundreds of photographic collections for suitable material, ranging from those in historical societies to previously published works. The photographs are intended to suggest the setting or the mood of the personal anecdotes, not to be factual depictions of what is narrated. Individual narrators are not identified, nor are many of the people and places depicted photographically, since the intended impression is that of a multifaceted and often contradictory, yet commonly shared experience of most Scandinavians who migrated to this country and left succeeding generations with a common heritage after them.

If time permits, a teacher might consider showing each part as an introductory activity prior to further detailed and more specific discussion of aspects depicted therein, then showing it again as a culminating activity for more meaningful learning.

Kenneth Smemo
Director, Scandinavian Heritage Project

#1: EMIGRATION/IMMIGRATION (Filmstrip and tape cassette)

After the discovery of the North American continent by Lief Erickson about 1000 A.D. a short-lived Viking camp was established in Newfoundland. With the closing of the Viking age, Scandinavian interest in America would lay dormant for 500 years.

By the early part of the 17th century, Sweden under the leadership of Gustavus Adolphus, had established herself as a great power in Europe. Other great powers, France, England, Spain and Holland had already established colonies in America. In March of 1638, Sweden began its only colonization project on the shores of the Delaware River. The experiment lasted only 17 years. The colony did not receive sufficient support from the mother country and was eventually captured by the Dutch West India Company. The original settlers remained, however, and kept their language, customs, and churches for another 100 years. But by the time mass migration of the Scandinavians began in the 1800's, the Swedish colony was but a distant memory.

In the hundred years after 1750, Scandinavia experienced a rapid growth in population. In ever-growing numbers people were landless, disenfranchised, and hungry. For many, the future held only starvation and stagnation. For others, there was the gamble of America. In 1825, aboard the ship Restauration, a group of Norwegian religious dissenters arrived in New York. By 1835, the first Norwegian settlement in the Mid-west--the Fox River settlement--was established in Illinois. In 1846, a Swedish group of religious dissenters founded the Bishop Hill settlement in Illinois. In the next fifty years, Danish, Icelandic, and Finnish communities were established. One Norwegian settlement in Pennsylvania was founded by the great violinist, Ole Bull. It came to be known as "Oleana."

Between 1851 and 1860, 14,860 Swedes immigrated to America and by the start of the Civil War, almost 70,000 Norwegians had entered the United States. These

early immigrants faced the long and hazardous ordeal of sailing ships and covered wagons.

"All came to America, they were mining engineers. My grandfather and greatgrandfather were mining engineers in the copper mines near Røros in Norway, that's right in the center and east part of Norway. They got a sailboat and they sailed and they sailed, and that ship would stand still some days, you know, there wasn't enough wind; it would back up even. And you know, they were running short of food and there was a lot of people on this boat, it was the Hartse's and Hitterdals--there was a big bunch of people you know. So then they run short of food and they had to turn in all the food they had. They appointed a food administrator and they put the food in one place. Some had dried beef and some had flatbread and some had some potatoes; they all put it together and then one man would sit by this pile of food every day and he passed out just a little bit to each one so they would live till they got to America. My grandmother had a child on board on the way over and that died, it was buried in the ocean. And they landed, I think they landed in Canada first. Then they eventually landed in Hesper, Iowa. It was Berndt and Lars Hitterdal, Ole Hitterdal. It took them 15 or 16 weeks to cross the ocean and they stayed down there in Hesper, Iowa. They landed there about there in 1865. So they got, they had a covered wagon and some oxen and some horses and the whole gang came up this way."

The Hitterdal family was one of the first families to settle in the Red River Valley of Minnesota. But letters back home, an active promotion by the railroads, made the rich farmlands of America a badly kept secret. Between 1881 and 1890, 324,285 Swedes came to America, and in one year, 1883, 28,000 Norwegians left the old world. By this time, great steamers carried immigrants from Helsinki, Stockholm, Malmö, Copenhagen, Göteborg, Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim

and Reykjavik. With their prized possessions carefully packed in a large trunk, often decorated with unique rosemaling, they embarked on a voyage not unlike that of their Viking ancestors. From Bergen to Hull, from Hull to Liverpool, from Liverpool to New York or Halifax, then Chicago, Minneapolis and the American West. Some emigrated because of religious persecution, some to avoid military service or to escape an occasionally unpleasant social situation, but most came for economic reasons. The choice was seldom easy. A Norwegian immigrant wrote, "Farewell Norway, and God bless thee. Stern and severe were thou always, but as a mother I honor thee, even though thou skimped my bread. But all things vanish. Grief and care sink down upon the heart. Still the memory of thee refreshes the soul like the deep sleep of a child. Other lands offer me independence and for my labor, well-being to my children. These oh Norway, thou didst not give me, for thou art the land of lords and slaves where the great ones ruled and we obeyed. Once more, God bless thee. To the day of my death I will pray God to keep thee, for thou art the keeper of my childhood, and the joys of childhood thou gavest me. I will remember thee always, whatever life may bring, and I will pray, throw off the chains that embittered my youth from me."

"Oh, because my sister was over here, and I heard so much about America. I seen so many of the Swedish people who had been in America a few years and had been working in New York or Boston or whatever, and had come home to visit and they had such nice clothes and everything. And when you are a little kid you see all those things and I thought, oh, well, America must be a wonderful country. They always used to tell us they could cut gold with knives, you know, and I was goin to do the same thing, and find this gold and I was going to be rich, come to America and be rich."

"I worked so darn hard I was so tired I could hardly go home those few steps for supper. And my oldest brother, he got everything, and I got fever to come back here again and the old man he gave me money for the ticket and I sent him the money back the first year I was here."

"After Hekla, the largest volcano of Iceland, had erupted, spreading the earth of volcanic ashes over the large areas, grass and other vegetation was killed. Sheep had little fodder and much distress was experienced by man and beast. Also, earthquakes were many. There was much talk about the opportunities of providing a better living in America. Among many who left the old country were Gudrun Margaret Gudmundsdottir and her husband Harkreimr Gudmundson and their five children, John, Elizabeth, Thorbjerg, Christine and Sigridr. They came to Canada and settled at Gimli on Lake Winnipeg. They were among the first settlers landing there September 1, 1876. The journey from Winnipeg was made on barges down the Red River to the lake. I don't know how they made it when you think about it. The Lord must have been with them. Oh, they wanted to better themselves. They had heard about this wonderful country and so many of their friends were leaving and that gets to be a kind of an epidemic you know."

"And I left my boyfriend back home and he said I wish you wouldn't go. He went with me on the train until I changed trains the first time. And of course, I'll never forget that. And a fellow come and sold apples, and he bought one big apple, a great big one and he tossed it up to me and I caught it and he was crying but I wasn't crying. I was pinned up with flowers, you know, when you leave Sweden, you know. I don't know if they do it now but they did it then and I had flowers pinned all over me so that everybody knew that I was going to America. When girls went to America in them days, they put all those flowers and things on them. There

was a young minister on the train, he was on the same train that I was after my boyfriend had thrown up that apple to me and he was crying, he was wiping his tears and he said "Well, how come you don't shed no tears?" "Well, why should I shed tears?" I said, "I'm going to America, I'm going to make lots of money, I'm going to be gone five years and I'm going to come home and marry him." That didn't work out that way."

"I had a friend about the same age as me at the time of the Christmas and he also said that he was interested in going to the United States you see. We looked in the daily paper and in the paper we found this schedule of Gunnar Lines ship leaving England."

"To thee, beloved land I bid farewell. Soon I no longer shall view thy beauty nor hear thy music of thy waterfalls. The snowcapped mountains shall fade from sight and slowly thy coast will sink away in the midst, like a mother being lowered in the grave. No glimpse then of thy tallest peaks, only a lonely sail on the boundless deep."

"And was I ever sick. I lived with my clothes on for three days; I couldn't take them off I was that sick. Oh, I said, why did I started out on this trip? But I made it and the last two days when we was closest to New York, then you were feeling just fine, then the trip was soon over, then you thought you had a good time."

"We started out in Trondheim and around the coast way down to the southern part of Norway and then across to England, on the east side of England, I think it's Hull, the name of the town. And then crossing England in the train and then we got a big boat there from Liverpool right across to Canada, Quebec.

How long did it take? Well, it took about three weeks from the time I left Oslo to when I landed in Minneapolis."

"Well the ship was new, it made its maiden voyage and the balance was poor. So we rolled along with the waves and many things on the boat were smashed, many of the dishes for example. The cooks were ill, many of us were as sick as we had ever been. Yes, we were very, very seasick. One day I wasn't quite as bad, he came and picked me up and then he had some pickled herring and some smoked meat that he had brought with him from Sweden it was salty and he said you've got to have something to eat. You can't be sad. Eat this up. You're going to die before we get to New York he said. So he gave me some of that food that he had with him, he was a very nice man. And of course, when we got to New York he was an American citizen, so he could go off the boat. Then I had to go to the Ellis island there we parted and I never got to see him any more."

"For about two days, I can't remember that I ever got out of my bunk. But once I got well again, you seemed to be just wonderfully well."

"Oh, yes, very sick, very rough, but we all managed and did quite well. We started on the ship to the America May 8th, from Malmö. We went from Malmö to Copenhagen later on that same night and the following morning went on the train and part of the trip of course was on ferry. We went on a boat which we crossed the channel on May 10th late in the night, arrived in England May 12. In the evening we went on the train to Liverpool. So the whole trip was very good and no serious seasickness."

"You know, it wasn't sanitary, and, oh, my sister had the most beautiful black hair. Here she was, Scandinavian, and she had black hair. And the rest of us were quite fair and she had this hair and it was her pride and joy and it was my mother's too. She got so many lice on that boat that they had to cut that hair off. That hurt my sister and hurt my mother terribly bad that they

had to cut that hair before she could see Dad. I think the children were sick too. Some, there was a lot of them on the boat that were sick and mother said there was a God-fearing person and I think she spent a lot of time in prayer and I think she felt that they were all spared because she left it in the Lord's hands."

"The ship ran into an iceberg. The front part of the ship was stove in but luckily the damage wasn't great enough to sink the ship and after many, many days they limped into the Halifax."

"They left Goteborg and sailed for England across the North Sea. They arrived in Liverpool December 2nd, where they spent five days."

"And, while we were on the ship my mother, of course, had just enough money to reach North Dakota. And so one day, while she was out of her cabin all her money was stolen. She didn't have a cent when she got to the United States. But there was a good man there who lent her money so she could get to North Dakota. In arriving at the docks in New York we found out that we were not as welcome by the customs as we were led to believe."

There were several ports of entry, including Boston, Philadelphia and Halifax, Nova Scotia. But, until World War I, most of the immigrants came to New York where they were processed through Ellis Island.

"Well, it looked to me like there were a bunch of cattle over there, take a ferry and then you stand in line and you go from one doctor to another and they look at your eyes and then they look at your mouth and they ask you some questions. I had a crippled finger, very particular you know; it was hurt when I was a little girl. I cut myself and I never took care of it like they should. When we were going through this thing, you had to lay your hands out like this, you know, on the table so the doctor could see your hand see that they were o.k. because

they put o.k. on your paper. And I watched all of this and everybody did it and of course then I started crying to myself. I thought, oh my, when my turn comes along to go over there he'll see my hand and send me back to Sweden and I don't want to go back. I want to go to America, I want to see my sister, and I don't want him to send me back home. And a younger couple was standing over there and he asked me why I was crying. I said, "see I have a crippled hand and I see that you have to put your hands on the desk and," I said, "he looks at the hands and he's going to send me back, I know." And then I started to pray that God would help me that he wouldn't see this hand so that when I came up to put my hand on the table I put my left hand on it and I held the other one back and he never asked for my right hand. And then that man stood over in the corner, looked, and said "My, eyes were just beaming like the sun." He come over to me and shook hands with me and he said "My, your prayers are wonderful. I saw you when you were praying." And I meant it, I thought, no, I don't want them to send me back to Sweden, no I want to come to America. But after I got that stamp on, then I was safe. Then they couldn't do no more to me, I was accepted into the United States then, you know."

"My mother got me up and said we were going to land today. So I hurried, and another girl and I got ourselves lined up to see the Statue of Liberty; then it took all day long to get into the harbor. And by that time we were exhausted, my mother had to account for everything we had along and I remember sitting on the dock crying, eating some apple pie I had bought that wasn't very good and I thought it was a bad beginning."

"We arrived at Boston on May 21st in the evening and we stayed on the boat till the following morning, the 22nd. We were told in Sweden that we were supposed to have $15 in cash money in order to land in the United States. And my pal and

I came to check on our financial condition and we found that we didn't have quite $15 apiece, you see, and we had to have it because at the bottom of the steps was the fellow that checked you and you had to show him you had $15. So it was decided that I take $15 first and go down with it and then when I go down I would throw my pocketbook up to him and then he will use the same $15 to get down with. I got down in good shape and showed him the $15 and then I put quite a bit of change in my pocketbook but the boat looked like a four-story building and I didn't know if I could throw it over, but I tried and I cleared the railing by about four feet and about a second or so I seen a smiling face over the railing so he come down with the same $15 as I did."

#2: IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT: RURAL (Film Strip and Tape Cassette)

Alone in their new country, the immigrants faced an uncertain future. They were prey to swindlers, pickpockets, hustlers and charlatans. They had heard stories of rich land in American democracies, but they had also heard stories of the cold and of the heat, of the Indians and the outlaws. But with an optimism born of desperation, they boarded the immigrant trains heading West.

"I was standing there by myself and I thought well, what do I do now? Then I hear the bell was ringing and then I looked and then I saw where the train was and I started to run. It was just ready to leave, and the conductor, he sure bawled me out cause I had the ticket on me. I shouldn't have left the train, you know, but I did. I thought I was going to move with the crowd and I did. I got back up there again and I said I'll never go off this train again here. And I sat on that train all the way from Chicago till I get to Glendive, Montana, and I think it took maybe three or four days maybe I'm sure it did because the trains they wasn't so good as they are today, you know. And there was wooden seats on them and those old fashioned stoves to heat, that's where they heated the train you know. Lots of immigrants, that was an immigrant train, that's what it was. And like I said the porter come along with candy and fruit and stuff and I thought people was so good in this country; they were giving things away because I didn't know what he said. They just put it on my seat so I took it. Then one man come and said to me, he's going to make you pay for that."

"And there was broad sidewalks you know in front of the depot and then my sister didn't come to meet me but my brother-in-law came and my cousin and his wife came to meet me and I stepped off and I said boy, this don't look like America!"

"He landed at Hawley, he had five cents left in his pocket. That's all the money he had and he walked up and down the street there. He didn't know just what to

do. He didn't know anybody, he didn't know where to go and so he went into the store and he bought five cents worth of snuff for the last five cents he had in his pocket. And there he met my dad and then he decided that he would come here so my dad staked him and he came to our place that day."

"Oh, wonderful, I thought, oh, this is a wonderful country. It was really beautiful when you was coming on the train, you know and I seen it, and I was sitting there and I thought oh, what a wonderful land to be in."

"There were box cars ready to take them West but grandfather said they were not cattle. They took the train to Eau Claire, Wisconsin. In the early spring of 1871 they set out with a team of horses which they traded in St. Paul for oxen. After traveling a month and four days over bad roads, heavy snow, they arrived at the homestead on April 4, 1871."

"And there we stayed overnight in the depot, my mother and I think there was seven kids then already, sleeping on the floor, until nine o'clock in the morning."

"So we had seen an empty box car at the siding, and we decided to get in and sleep in the box car. We woke up in the morning about five o'clock and we found there was an empty stock tank down just below the railroad but also a pump alongside of it. So we washed our face and hands there and dressed up, and we seen four fellows over on a hand car coming in and we kind of figured they maybe would come to town to eat, so we walked slow and let them fellows walk ahead of us, as we walked to town. They were just a few steps ahead of us when they walked into a restaurant and they all sat down at one table and we sat down at the other table. The waitress come in and she said something to them in English and one fellow said, bacon and flapjacks. And the next fellow said bacon and flapjacks, and the other one said bacon and flapjacks and so did the fourth, bacon and flapjacks. And she

stood in the door of the kitchen, and she said four bacon and flapjacks. Then she come over to us and she said something to us which we didn't understand, but we figured she was asking what we wanted for breakfast. So, I said bacon and flapjacks, and my partner said bacon and flapjacks. And we didn't know what we was getting, but we figured it was something to eat anyway."

Many Scandinavian immigrants stayed in Chicago or Minneapolis. Others traveled to the established Scandinavian settlements in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and southern Minnesota. But in western Minnesota, the Dakotas and Montana, land was still free. The United States government bet them 160 acres that they could not live on the prairie for five years. In some areas, there was enough timber to build a wooden claim shack or even a log house. In other areas, the prairie sod was cut and shaped to form blocks for a temporary house. The number of years between the "soddie" and the first frame house would depend on the weather, insects, grain prices, and the ambition and faith of the homesteader.

"My big brother had just come here from Decorah, Iowa, the year before and had a homestead 15 miles north of Grand Forks near the Turtle River. What I thought when I saw those homesteads words can't describe. I thought I had come to the world's end. The country was just wild prairie, houses looked like anthills and little shanties with sod roofs and many lived in cellars."

"They just put them up temporary, to get along. Well I made it a little bit bigger so I had a 26-foot shack and it was only a one board shack you know. But after we had been there for a little while, we had church at our place one Sunday. They brought stuff for dinner, potluck you know."

"Where did you stay until you built the place? Where did I stay? In the wagon box, right out on the prairie."

"So much fence and so much of this, so many acres plowed and so long as you had that, why you take your test, the same as you get a Deed now, from the government, but you had to pay them $1.25 an acre for this transaction. But if you didn't want to do that, you could live on it five years and then you got it free. I paid for it."

"It was tough to take, you know. You're trying about starting a new home, and never been away from home and go right out into the open and foot your own canoe. The same way with her, why she was raised in a good home and here I bring her out on the prairie in Montana in a shack, 16 x 26', one wall. Nothing on the floor except the board, wall boards and all these things you know, it was hard to cope. It was hard, but it wasn't any harder for us than it was for anybody else, you see. This was a common thing, it was just starting out. People didn't live that way later on, they started farming you know. We worked to beat the devil the first year we were there because you see I plowed ten acres for another man that first summer and we had fifty-one acres broke on our own homestead."

"And they put up a house there, with scrap lumber from what one picked up around the railroad as they had built the railroad going West. And then, of course, they made a sod house out of it by building sod, cutting sod out of the ground, you know, and piling it like bricks. And that's where they lived then until they got enough put together to make a farm home."

"Oh yes, I was born in a sod house in 1907, April 23. And the midwife was an old working woman that didn't speak English. I was told this, of course, by my mother and dad as I was older. There was no doctor, we was four miles out of town. Oh yes, I remember the sod house, the windows was really small windows, you know, where you could just look outside and when the wind blew it would blow dirt

in on the floor. It was really tough going in those days. It was just a rough lumber floor and mother would sweep the dust into the cracks as I remember it. The house was muddy with all the kids coming in."

"And we lived in a home, while they were building this log house. And the logs were, well, you wouldn't know that they were logs because they were plastered in between and then we used in those days calcimine. I don't know what that is now, like whitewash, you know. But it was crowded for all of us, I know. In those days, the neighbors all chipped in and helped each other."

"First, when he came out here he had oxen because horses were expensive to buy."

"He had about fifty acres that was covered with hazel brush and other weed timber we called it, popple and a few oak trees. And we broke that up later."

"So they had to dig a well in the deepest part of this lake here, about 30' deep with spades and then they had to dig out water there, then they had to get the water out in buckets see and they had made troughs, long troughs out of boards, and then if one farmer was there already watering his stock, then the other guy had to hold his cattle until this first guy was through."

"And if they wanted to grind flour, they had to go to Alexandria, Minnesota, and that's quite a little ways. It's sixty miles approximately to Fergus Falls and fourty-three miles from there to Alexandria. They had to go there by oxcart or my folks were fairly lucky, they had a span of mules so they got around a little better."

To raise money for a plow or seed, or a cow, many immigrants worked for the railroad. Many, in fact, bought their land from the railroad. Women often worked as maids for railroad executives, or as cooks for railroad crews.

"Work on the railroad started, so grandfather worked for the railroad and grandmother baked bread and washed clothes for the railroad officials for which she was paid

$5 a week."

"When the shovel and the pick ax and wheelborrow that he had purchased for the contract he had took to build a grade for the railroad was worn out, especially the shovel was worn out, he was appointed section foreman."

"I stayed with them for three weeks, and then I said oh, I've got to go out and make money I can't stand it like this, I've got to make money so I can go back home to Sweden again. And so I went out, and I got myself a job. And he was Norwegian, she was Danish, the children spoke Norwegian and I spoke Swedish; four different languages."

"At that time, I got a dollar a day, which I thought was pretty good."

During the days when the husband was away from the farm, the isolation of the prairie was felt the most. Neighbors were far apart, and in Dakota Territory the trees which had been so comforting in the old country were but a memory.

"I remember the first time I went to Belcourt. I was about 5 years old and there was just one tree on the prairie between here and Belcourt."

"There was no wood to burn in those days, there was not a tree in sight."

"And I can recall my mother telling about the quiet of long days when she was alone, when dad wasn't home and I know that there were times when she said she actually climbed up on the roof of the house, a little old shanty type of house and from there she could see the neighbor's houses so that she knew that she wasn't alone in that whole area."

"No newspaper, the only communication we had would be to go to town and find out what had gone on in the rural areas. The town was four miles away, four miles north of Turtle Lake."

"In that two years, how many times would you estimate you got to Baker? I think I was into Baker twice. Because we went to Baker to church; it was the closest church."

Disease, cold, hail, grasshoppers; the hardships portrayed on 20th century television were real and personal to the immigrants.

"Oh much snow, grasshoppers in 1872 and 1873. And the hail in 1875 destroyed their crops. The game in the woods and the fish in the lake kept them from starving."

"In 1872, smallpox. Two girls, one four and the other ten months died the same day and had to be buried at night as everyone was fearful of smallpox."

"Fathers died, mothers died, children died, very many in the two years 1882 and 1883. Twenty-four children from the age of 14 and down died here in Parke Township."

"The doctors didn't know beans about it, you know, as she said. Kids died from diphtheria, scarlet fever, and all this you know, and the doctor would come there and maybe give them a little punch, you know, and then they would tell them, 'now put them to bed and keep them warm, I'll be back tomorrow.' Whether he came back tomorrow or not didn't make any difference. They didn't know any more about it than you or I did, do you know. And she said one place there was three kids in one bed, one was already dead. And then when they died she said, they took them down and buried them on the cemetery and then they put a wooden cross on these graves you know. And two, three years or so the cross rotted and got covered with dirt. No one, she says, has any idea who is buried in that cemetery."

"Seventy miles from doctor in an old homestead shack on the prairie, that's where my oldest boy was born."

"Oh yah, it was cold because you had to thaw out the water to be able to make coffee. And in the kitchen, the kitchen was so cold that we had to carry in stuff, the milk and the cream, stuff we didn't want to freeze, into the dining room in the evening so it wouldn't freeze."

"They did have Indian scares, for one time they say they hid down in the well to escape the Indians when they plundered the farmhouse, where they were down in the well when my grandfather was gone in the army."

"People who grow up in these days can never imagine what it was like in the Red River Valley at that time. Such drinking and irreligion was a terrible thing to think of."

"There was one instance where Johnson and Larson were neighbors. One day Larson went over to visit with Johnson and when he went over there were several acres grubbed out then and there stood the grain waving like an ocean and as he walked along, Mr. Larson looked up at the sky and he thought it was just a wonderful day. But they had talked with the Indians, and the Indians said the grasshoppers were coming from the West. But nevertheless, just at noon he came over to Mr. Johnson's and he found Mr. Johnson at home and as they were talking the bright sunshine became dulled and they looked up and lo and behold here were the locusts, or the grasshoppers. They got the children and Mrs. Johnson into the house, closed the windows and the doors, and down came what they called the grasshoppers, which were the locusts, and settled on everything. Now then, lo and behold, the whole patch was black, there was nothing left but a few stakes standing upright and a buckle and a button lying here and there. The grasshoppers had devoured his tobacco, with the clothing that he had wrapped it in, completely."

Would you like to do it again? "Absolutely no. I would never do it."

#3: IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT: URBAN (Film Strip and Tape Cassette)

Not all the Scandinavian immigrants moved directly to American farms and homesteads. A significant number of immigrants, went directly to America's cities. Although some worked in factories and building trades only long enough to gather enough money to begin farming, the number of Scandinavians who lived in an urban environment grew rapidly. This urban growth was particularly significant after 1890. The Swedes tended to congregate in the cities to a greater extent than did the other Scandinavian groups. By 1910, 61% of America's Swedish-born population lived in large cities. Only Stockholm, for instance, had more Swedish residents than Chicago. There were also sizeable numbers of Norwegians and Danes in Chicago and the Scandinavian presence was quite noticeable in business and building trades. During the later stages of immigration, many Scandinavians also began to remain in New York City. The Scandinavian urban populations seemed to provide a focal point for many of the Scandinavian-Americans. It was here that the leading newspapers were printed. Many Swedes who had never held a newspaper from Stockholm considered the Svenska Amerikanaren published in Chicago to be their newspaper. Norwegians gained news of themselves and of their mother country from Minneapolis and Decorah, Iowa, newspapers. These newspapers spread from the hearts of the cities far out into the prairies of America.

"Newspaper, yah. We had Decorah Posten for years and years as long as you could get it." "Yes, we had Svensak Amerikanaren. It came from Chicago."

"Dad was, he subscribed for the Minneapolis Tidende they called it. That would mean Minneapolis Times. It was just a small daily paper, and he had that as far back as I can remember, that Norwegian paper. It was just four sides you know, two sheets, four sides, see, and that was all. But I'm telling you, that's where daddy got his news. And then there was a Swedish paper but that was twice a week because, well, he got news from Sweden and that through that, you see, and that was printed in

Chicago, you see."

"The Norwegian newspaper, the Decorah Posten, out of Decorah, Iowa, and the Ugebladet, which was published in Fergus Falls, and also the two women's magazines, one of them was known as Kvinden og Hjemmet, that's the woman and her home. And mother bound these together to become her encyclopedia. She had a great memory and when questions came up she knew just where she could find in this encyclopedia of hers made up out of the Norwegian magazines that she bound together."

"It was Decorah Posten, that was the main thing, and Skandinaven was another one, and Gammel og Glug was another one. I did have the Decorah Posten until they quit publishing it."

"Yes, we had Minneapolis Times, the Minneapolis Tidende. There was a Norwegian paper from Decorah, Iowa called Decorah Posten."

"The Finnish Newspaper, Raivaja, this paper by the way, is still being published. It's one of the few Finnish newspapers still left in the United States."

"And I remember there was a continued story in the Ved Arnen, that was kind a supplement to the Decorah Posten, and I remember my aunt used to like to read those continued stories. They were novels."

"My father took the Svensak Amerikanaren, I suppose you've heard of that before, and he read that religiously. I'm sure he read every page of it because there was a lack of reading material in this kind of community. And as a teenager, I was very hungry for reading material and I can remember finding that the newspaper contained novels, and I started reading those interesting novels and I just couldn't wait from one week to the next."

"My mother and dad got the Industrialisti and the Amerikan Uutiset. And of that they would read the daily news, you know, the happenings."

In Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and several smaller cities they found their own

distinct neighborhoods. Minneapolis, more than any other large city, became America's Scandinavian center. Cedar Avenue, often referred to as Snoose Boulevard, was home to tens of thousands of immigrants. Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish was heard on the streets and in the saloons. Amateur musicians and comedians presented programs of old country music and skits. With the development of the Scandinavian dialect joke, they had gained the confidence to laugh at themselves during the evening hours after gaining the confidence of others through their cooking and building and sewing during the day.

"So he came to Minneapolis, and he can remember getting off the train at the Union depot and walking down Washington Avenue, as he knows how it is Washington, at that time he didn't, feeling that he didn't have a friend in the world and he didn't know what on earth he was going to do. Here he was in this strange, new land, not knowing the language or anything. He said while he was walking down this street all at once he heard people talking Swedish. He said it was the sweetest sound he had ever heard in his life and he rushed over there and here there were three fellows and he started talking with them and before they got through talking, they had lined him up a job working on the railroad."

"Oh solid, I mean the whole community. Everything was transacted in Swedish until I was probably, oh, eighteen years old possibly and then things started to change a little."

"Stores, you could buy, we always got lingonberries, lutefisk, and grandma would even have the dried stuff."

"I'd say 75-80% of those people out there were Swedes and that's why they called it "Swede Town" that was out on the third ward of Moorhead."

"Well, the cultural life really of any Finnish community would center around what's called the Finn Hall. And every community in Minnesota or around the country would

have a Finn Hall. And this is where you would have dances and lectures and they would have theatricals, locally produced. I remember as a little girl being just very intrigued because we would have companies come from Finland and they presented plays."

"And then they were always glad to take in friends and relatives who had decided to come to America. So they would come and stay and mother said, "why, our house is never too small to take in families" and she says I remember when the Blickers had their three children and they had the bedroom and then we had to sleep in the kitchen. But she said they were welcome to stay there after, but they were there a whole winter."

"Well, my mother came to Minneapolis and worked as a cook in a judge's household."

"Mother started to sew immediately with a Jewish family and said they would pay her what she was worth. They were so pleased with her, they promised to keep her busy but they paid her only 25¢ a day and board and room. The first Sunday after a party they came out with clothes and a brush and indicated she was to brush them. She became furious and declared in Swedish 'I'd never brush clothes for anyone in Sweden and I'll never come to America and do it here.' She threw down the brush and began to get dressed for church."

"It was a man's work. They had a factory in which they would pile and block."

"An American family lived next door to us and that had an effect on me. I would use some wrong words, for example, will I have to go put on the table? And Mrs. Freeman laughed and said Ellen you don't say that, you say you're going to set the table. I was so mortified to think I had used the wrong words."

"When she said, go over and get nickel's worth of kardemomme, I had a funny idea that kardemomme was the wrong word. So then she told me this so then I said, "Well, I'll go do it if I can say it in English."

"Yes, especially my mother who went to night school while she was working at Minneapolis

So much so, that actually she spoke without any Swedish accent."

"I was six, I believe when I started school and my parents encouraged us to talk English. They discouraged us from talking Swede more or less because there weren't many who used this language themselves. After awhile, you stopped talking Swedish entirely at home."

"And this was a great thing among all the Finnish radical groups. All of them had their halls, in which they had plays and so forth and social doings and basketball teams for the young people. And it seems their greatest emphasis, whatever they may have contributed, it seems to be in this field much greater than in the political field. Because in this country, the political ideas don't have to be accepted by others, anyway."

"But before she was married, she was a dressmaker so she would go to homes. At that time they had the dressmaker live in with them for one or two or three weeks and they saved up all their sewing and it was done all at one time."

"He was not trained in any special field, so when he came to Chicago, he had to get any job available. He was always full of fun and he was delighted to tell how he applied to drive horses for delivering meat for the stockyards and had never known how to drive a horse. The horses were well trained and stopped at the regular markets automatically and the butcher would come out to take their allotment of meat."

In an urban setting, patterns of life changed more rapidly than in rural areas. But there remained a tendency among Scandinavians to worship and socialize with their own kind.

"Well, I suppose you would call it rivalry between the Swedes and Norwegians, because the Swedes were so many more, you know. They sort of thought that they were, well I don't know what you would say, uppercrust, but they had it over the Swedes."

"I never saw any friction between them at all. I never knew of any friction of any kind between them."

"When you come to look back, I mean, they didn't mingle too much, the Swedes and the Norwegians. The Swedes stayed to themselves kind of and the Norwegians stayed to themselves."

"I don't remember any disharmony at all. They accepted one another and I don't think there was any kind of discrimination nor did I ever feel that those kids were different than the rest of us."

"In his small town, they resented the Swedes because the Swedes worked harder and were able to get ahead and then they felt that the Swedes looked down on them, and they weren't nice, they weren't nice to those Norwegians and they made fun of them. But, we always felt, we kind of looked down on the Irish cause those were the only boys who would fight."

"Oh, Finns never liked Swedes. The Danes and the Norwegians and the Finns get along beautifully because they all hate the Swedes for a variety of reasons."

"So we kind of considered them shanty Irish and then when we would go to school and there would be "oh, there's a fight!" Then you would see all the Scandinavians go around them and around the outside watching the Irish fight. So that's how we got to look down on Irish. And then they were the politicians, and all the policemen in Chicago were Irish."

"They weren't really as friendly as they could have been. I think they kind of ridiculed each other from the different provinces because they had a little dialect. There was a lot of friction there."

"They didn't associate much, I mean the Catholics stayed in their Catholic community."

"There weren't very many, when we moved down where we lived, there weren't too many Swedish people. We played with the Catholics across the street, the Catholics next door and we were all just as friendly, and the Germans across the street. In fact, I don't know of anybody on our block or in our whole street there until we got over to a few streets that even belonged to our church."

"Mainly the Swedes and the Norwegians always picked on or shot at each other whenever they could, I mean made a dirty crack or like that, I mean I think it was more just in fun although I've heard later that it wasn't that, we just made fun of Norwegians, maybe we thought they were a little dumber than we were. I don't know if we really did, it was all just in fun. But I do remember some of the kids made it real tough for some of the Catholics that lived in the neighborhood, and for some of the Germans during the war. They weren't the old died-in-the-wool Swedes you know. All their activity centered around the church and nothing else."

"We had Norwegian members of our church. I don't know many, but there were some. They had so many relatives that the social side of their life was mostly between their relatives. As far as getting together socially, each one stuck by themselves more, I thought. As far as I know they were all Republicans."

#4: ACCULTURATION/ASSIMILATION (Film Strip and Tape Cassette)

The Scandinavian emigrants spread throughout the United States and Canada but as in the case of other emigrant groups they often prefered to move to areas previously settled by their own countrymen. Minnesota with its lakes and pines, so reminiscent of the homeland, drew thousands of Swedes. But there were also large Swedish settlements in Illinois, Iowa, Washington, Kansas, Pennsylvania, and New York. Norwegians settled throughout the middlewest, as well as New York, Washington, and even Hawaii. There were large concentrations of Danes in Illinois, Minnesota and Montana, Icelanders in Manitoba and North Dakota. And Finnish settlements in Minnesota, Michigan and New England. In some cases, small towns were often totally Norwegian or Danish or Finnish. The particular Scandinavian tongue was the language of the church, of commerce, and of day-to-day communication. In time of need there was cooperation between the ethnic groups but in many cases, the old world animosities were preserved in the new.

"It was interspersed through the community, it wasn't all Swedish in one place and Norwegian in another. It was a Swede and a Norwegian maybe a mile apart - they got along, but sometimes I wonder if there wasn't a little bit of enmity between the two factions, when they were out playing at recess time."

"As a group socially - they were very much together - almost to say clannish. Between 1900, and, say 1914, there were maybe 90 or 95% Norwegians, in this community."

"It was very common when they first started school that a lot of the pupils didn't know English, and there was friction between the Norwegians and Swedes. Although I was half Norwegian and half Swede, they called me a Swede."

"In the school here? Yes, I'd estimate that at least 50% had a Finnish background. I would say that once they were in America, even though the Finns on the Iron Range were rather cliquish - they would stay on with their own things just as the Croatian people and the Italians. They all had their own halls, and a lot of their social

activities went on that way with the first generation that came over. With the second generation all that was gone, but they became more American than Finnish. "I don't recall any. I think they were all either Norwegians or Swedes in Hitterdal at the time, I don't recall any certain, any other family that wasn't. Yes, in all the public places you went into, most of the conversation carried on was in Scandinavian."

"There was some division between the Danes and the Norwegians, and the fact that the Norwegians had their Sons of Norway lodge located 2 miles east of Underwood, and the Danes had their Danish Brotherhood south and east of Underwood, and there was rivalry between the two groups. And then the Modern Woodman Lodge was located near the village of Underwood and there was more rivalry between these lodge groups than there were between the ethnic groups like the nationalities."

The church played a large part in the lives of the emigrants and was often the source of social life as well as spiritual life. They were overwhelmingly of Lutheran denomination but old country associations resulted in the formation of several different synods. The "prest" or minister, was a man to be respected, and his admonishments against dancing and card playing were not to be ignored. The services were usually conducted in the immigrant's native tongue. And the church provided a distinct link with the European homeland until well into the 20th century.

"And they held their meetings in various farm homes - and then due to some misunderstanding they divided and the east side - the people on the east side, United Lutheran, built a church first. And then later on those that were on the west side were called the Synod Church. They built theirs quite a number of years later. I was a Norwegian at that time, but then when I got married I got to be all Swede so I had to join Swede Grove Chruch."

"And they used to have, in the olden times barns, so that they could take the horses and put them in the barns, because sometimes the services were 3 hours long. The Swedes went to the Swedish church in the country and the Norwegians went to the Norwegian church in town. And there were two Norwegian churches. All I can remember about that was that the ministers didn't seem to speak to each other. They were from different synods. There were no Catholics when we were children. I think that's the way the churches were in those days. They were against dancing and card playing, and different things like that but I don't remember them ever being mentioned from the pulpit."

"They had high respect for the pastor, and God's word in the church. No one was supposed to quibble or argue or question God's word in the church. And you had this here high church deal - quite a bit of ritual and things like that. And the pastor would, you know, cross himself, after the services, and he wore a ruff collar and it would be dignified and all that sort of thing. And, like I say, the church and God's word was to be respected. Card playing and dancing and drinking and all that sort of thing, that was the accepted rule. Laziness was the unforgiving sin and hard work would cover a multitude of sins."
"There was one church on one side of the road and another one on the other. See, they split like that. Then we had to talk only Norwegian. That was religion, you know. And we were all Lutherans in our whole community, so most of the schools was Lutheran teaching."

"Now, my parents never went to church regularly, I think if they ever had a visiting minister speaking at the Finnish hall or something, my mother probably went. My father wasn't too interested."

"Well, where we went, to the Elim Lutheran, we had an Icelandic minister. Because I remember him, I was just a youngster, but, Oh, he was something, I thought he was just a wonderful minister. I could even sit still and listen to him. The church services were conducted in Norwegian and all the minutes and all the records of the church were written in Norwegian until 1923."

Most immigrants did not know English when they arrived in America. Some never did learn it. Yet although the native language was still used in the home and community, most immigrants encouraged their children to learn English. By the third generation, in many cases, the language of the grandparents was just another foreign tongue.

"My dad always wanted to speak Icelandic."

"Those teachers, then you see, tried to keep you from using the Norwegian language, because all these children were using the Norwegian at home, exclusively. Well, of course, they all emphasized that we should not use the Norwegian language at school."

"I think in the early 30's they started having English one Sunday and Norwegian the next. Then after awhile it got to be all English, cause there were too many that couldn't understand the Norwegian language by that time. And even some of the Norwegian children that had Norwegian parents grew up just to talk English."

"In Hibbing they had quite a collection of Finnish books in the public library, and she learned to read English by going to the public library and she would take Finnish books out for herself and then she would take children's books out for me, and she would read them to me. So this is one of the ways that you learned to read Finnish."

"I was confirmed in Swede and I was getting to know the English language better and so, I know it took quite a conversion to get our folks to go to the English language."

"And the children talked Norwegian at recess time and at noon hour and nothing but Norwegian."

"We used to speak English all the time at school."

"In September of that year, I started the common school in Abercrombie. Well, I'd already learned to read and write in Norwegian - the Norwegian alphabet - it didn't help a bit when it came to learning English."

"Oh, they would like to speak Norwegian, but then I would always answer in English, but after awhile they began to use the English altogether, but it was fun because they couldn't express themselves - the little ones. But then I understood them because when they talked Norwegian or of course Swedish I understood them and could correct it."

"And we're all going to be a good American, we're all going to be absolutely alike. So many second generation, many of my friends, can no longer speak Finnish - a few words and most of them - I didn't know a word of English when I went to Kindergarten. But everybody, well no, we're all going to speak American. We're all going to be American, and that was the thing to do with the Italians, and the Croations and the Swedes and the Norwegians."

"My mother and I, of course, spoke Norwegian, every day. And, the fellow I had working for me last summer, we talked in Norwegian practically all the time, and if someone else was around we'd lapse into it."

The usage of the original language slowly faded, and with it other vestiges of the Scandinavian heritage. Scandinavian folk dances such as the Halling spring dance are rarely seen today. But in the years after the immigration and well into the lives of the second generation, Scandinavian music, dances and traditional entertainments provided a tie to the homeland.

"Yes, we used to have house parties, we used to have parties in the home, we'd clear out the kitchen, and we'd dance until the stove pipes fell down. There were a lot of Helling around there, I remember them talking about spring dance."

"Jens was the best violin player in Norway. Yes, played by ear. He was alone and had probably had a drummer with him and that was the orchestra."

"Yes, oh they loved music - and violin playing - My dad was a beautiful violin player, and my uncle, and they had a choir and they'd sing and they had a wonderful men's choir, and the violins - 3 or 4 violins and then the singers. They loved to sing, and they loved to dance. They just loved music."

"I remember once there was a lady who came to visit in my home. I clearly remember this - and she had a Hardanger fiddle and she was dressed in a Hardanger outfit and she had strings on her fingers and at the ends of the strings was a little Nisse And as she played - this Nisse would dance with her so I heard a Hardanger fiddle."

"Andrew Christiansen had studies violin in Denmark where he played with an orchestra. The music was brought mostly by close family friends. They came - I can remember them singing and playing the old organ we had at home in my childhood on through. And they sang Pål sine høner på haugen."

"And of course they sang the Norwegian national Ja vi elsker dette landet. But, other than that, the traditional celebration - we had two important celebrations each year - the 17th of May and the 4th of July were equal in importance to the people in the community until I was grown up. And, the entertainment - the 17th of May celebrations were pretty much between the races. Even though there was a lesser amount of Swedes than the other minority races, they had contests between them."

"Yes, the 17th of May was usually celebrated."

"And every Finnish community, there again most of them have gone, but at one time you had public sauna - one or two, I can't remember - for awhile our community had two saunas, and a barber, and a pool hall and the Finns, of course liked to drink and we had a couple "blind pigs" before prohibition."

"I do remember that it was part of the celebration, and they'd have row boat races and of course they had a band. My father - my family was not particularly musical - but my father was a marching band leader."

"We had a basket social, and then we earned enough money so we bought an organ. And one of the girls knew enough so she could play. And I remember she taught me to play America."

"They kept the folk dances up for many many years, and I think they still do. The Sons of Norway lodge from Fergus Falls still has their team."

"Mostly Finnish songs at the Finn hall, but a very, very musical culture. Many of the activities at the Finn hall would be musical and members of choirs, groups would get together and sing. And many of the productions were musical."

"Well some of them especially if they happened to get a little home brew or something, they got pretty lively."

#5: ETHNIC RETENTION IN THE LATTER 20TH CENTURY (Film Strip and Tape Cassette)

One tradition that has been preserved through all generations of Scandinavians is Scandinavian food. Lutefish, lefse, Icelandic prune cake and scores of other old country dishes are sill savored in the homes of those with a Scandinavian background.

"Krumkaka and sandbakkels and of course we had lutefisk and syltelabb."

"My dad would go and buy this what they call lutefisk, but it looked just like cordwood to me. Well my mother had saved up the ashes, and then she would put the ashes and this lye on this lutefisk and for the Christmas season was coming up, and so then that would dry, it was awfully dry, it looked just like cordwood to me in those days."

"In fact, yes I do, I like lutefisk, but I'm a Swede, and I've gone where they don't, where they've served lutefisk at these different places, but like the Norwegians have drawn butter, we had to have cream sauce."

"Lutefisk we've had as long as I can remember, so that's one thing we never missed. The white gravy of course, was used on potatoes mainly, boiled potatoes, and then we had white gravy on that you see, and the butter on the fish, so now there's a mixture between Norwegian and Swedish both."

"They had to make urllapølsa and hams and get their bacon ready and sausage and they had to make head cheese, and the greatest thing, the most important thing to make before Christmas was lutefisk. And at that time we couldn't go to the store to buy lutefisk like we do nowadays. It came in dry bunches - sort of a cordwood stack - and then we had to cut that up - the fathers sawed it up, and then the mothers would prepare the lye, and soaked it and watered it and oh it was so good - it was much better that way than what we buy nowadays. And then of course mother had to bake lefse and flatbread. These were the standard things, and julekake, Christmas bread,

and fattigmann, sandbakkels, berlinerkranzer and krumkake, all those things - and that was the food for Christmas."

"Rullepølse is a concoction of meat scraps, and it's put in a casing, and then of course headcheese - they call it sylte but that was made - I helped my mother make that, and blood sausage, (blodklubb) blood sausage and potet klubb, thats potato dumplings, ertesuppe, pea soup, rømmergrøt, cream porridge, klubmilk that was boiled milk with salt and dumplings, søtsuppe, sweet soup, and lutefisk - and that one we haven't got away from; we have our lutefisk as soon as its available in the fall."

"And I helped mother prepare the lutefisk from the time of my memory."

"And we had a smoke house, and we had smoked mutton, like they have in Iceland - which is delicious. It's just like a ham - only better. And at Christmas time we always had svinekjøtt and when company came, if nothing was baked, we made pannekaker to serve with the coffee."

"After they got mixed up with the Norwegian dishes, so it got lutefisk and lefse and whatnot, you know. The other night why, 17th of May you know, they had the doings here at Christine - there they served torsk."

"At almost every supper we had our meatless meals and then we'd have the grøt and it was made with graham flour, and some white flour too, I didn't like it very well. It was made with water and salted flour - two kinds of flour. I think that was all - and then we ate it, with a dab of butter in the middle, and then drank milk with it - sometimes sour milk with it. The white grøt was made with milk. I liked that better - of course I had cinnamon on that. And we used to have what they call lingonberries now. I think that was imported from Norway, wasn't it?"

"And he loved that goose grease - used to put it on his bread. And I even liked it."

"We had Risengrot, that's rice pudding, and julekake and sill and potatoes - you know what that is? herring and potatoes - oh my dear!"

There are several days celebrated by the Scandinavian peoples such as Santa Lucia Day, St. Uhro's Day and Syttende Mai - but the holiday observed most traditionally by all is Christmas. Christmas was observed in the new land almost exactly as it had been in the old. As the generations of Scandinavians grew, they frequently added American customs to their own Christmas observances. Yet, there remains today a distinct Scandinavian heritage among those people who wish each other Glade Jul.

"We had our Christmas trees and decorations which were minor in the beginning, homemade, of course, all of it. And a lot of the toys were homemade too. I can remember going to julotta and that was always our biggest crowd. And get up at 5 o'clock in the morning - and church would start at 5:30 some mornings - from where I lived here at 523 10th street we could go right straight down to Bethesda, on 2nd street on 16th or second avenue - walk right over and be to church at 5:30 and we'd get out at about 7 o'clock - it was dark when we went in and dark when we went out and all you could see was the candles lit on the two Christmas trees."

"We had childrens' festivals- or programs, our Christmas program, and I know that my uncle used to be in charge of the barrel of apples and the candy boxes that were given to the children. And we kept those in the living room so they wouldn't freeze until they were brought to church that evening. Then on New Year's eve, we often had a basket social. And just before the new year they'd have a short service and then after service, in the bobsled we'd go jingling around the woods, and if it was a nice bright moonlite evening, it was glorious if it wasn't too cold. (Did you go julebukking?) Oh, yes, and it was more fun when we were children to have the julebukk people come to our house or to the farm."

"Julebukk? I didn't go many times myself but there'd maybe be a bunch together and dress up in all kinds of costumes, and put a mask on go from place to place and see if they would know you or not."

"And Christmas Eve was usually a big supper, and as a family. And then we children had to go to bed early because we had to put our stocking under the stool. You see Santa Clause, or as we called him Jule Nissen, was coming, and we had to get to bed early. Of course, we had been taught why we celebrated Christmas, was on account of the Christ child - But this was the gift part - and we'd go to bed early and we had to sleep because we didn't realize it was mother and dad who brought the gifts, but in the morning when we got up and our stockings were filled, it sure was happy. Sometimes we had an orange and a banana, and sometimes the girls had a doll, you know, and oh, and then we had parties. That's the time the neighbors used to get together. Sometimes we had big Christmas parties, and I don't know how mother could prepare everything. It was the dinners during the day - and then in the evening the youth or the young people would get together. And mother would have things made for that too. And always apples - oh and then sometimes if people knew that there was a party at the place then those Christmas fools would come - and they were all dressed up, you know, with masks - they would come in and they had to be treated too. So the mothers sure had to prepare a lot."

"I remember my mother talking about a Christmas eve when we had to give the cows a bit of extra hay and kind of do something good for the animals and the chickens. I think that it was in Norway that they used to do that. It seems to me that she used to put something out for the birds. What do you call that? a bundle?-From threshing the grain. I remember when I was quite small she used to save up a bundle and then she would put that out somewhere - out near the barn, and that was

supposed to be for the birds at Christmas. (Did you have your Christmas celebration Christmas eve?) Yes, that was, early in the afternoon that we put the tree up. We never got to put our tree up until the afternoon of Christmas eve. (What did you decorate it with?) Well, we made a lot of homemade things and hung on the tree because we couldn't really afford to buy any. And we did have a few that we saved from year to year and they were real precious to us. They were glittering things. (What kind of homemade things would you put on?) Oh, we would maybe cut out something from the paper, I think that we strung cranberries and popcorn, and hung on the tree. (Did you have any kind of a program or service on Christmas eve?) Yes. And then we had to have a little program. The children then of course, would have some recitations that they probably had learned in school and then we would join hands and walk around the Christmas tree and sing Glade Jul."

"And the 24th is the day for the family, and the 25th is the church day and then the 26th is the day they call Tapani and its the day of the first martyred saints, St. Stephen's Day, a martyred Saint. And that's the visiting day. And so the Finns, on the 24th we usually had a community celebration and we had a big Christmas tree in the Finn hall, and people would bake and stuff and that's where we'd take all our Christmas cards and presents and you would have a program and Santa Claus would come and stuff and then you'd go home, and of course, the kids would all have their stockings and things that at home the next day."

"So, mother would usually, with the help of the older children, get out and milk the cow, a little bit earlier than usual on Christmas eve and everybody had to have a bath. And they had only an ordinary tub, and they cut ice from the lake, and mother melted the ice into soft water for our bath, and for washing clothes, and I can remember standing with one foot in the tub and one on the outside of the tub and when we took our bath and that once a week but especially even though Saturday night had been just two nights before Christmas, we still had to have our

bath on Christmas eve. And after all the work was done we had this meal of lutefisk, spare ribs, and meat balls and everything else that could go with it. And the dishes had to be washed, so the younger children were pretty impatient before the dishes could be washed before we could have our Christmas eve together. And we had our Christmas tree, and the younger members of the family all had to learn a Christmas story, or the older girls would read Christmas stories to us, but each one of us had to give some kind of recitation, both in Norwegian and in American. And then the gifts could not be opened until after we had this little family program. Then the gifts were opened, and we had lunch again. The children had mostly popcorn and apples, and other cookies and fattigmann - fattigmann was always made - I forgot to mention fattigmann among the Norwegian foods, but mother always baked cookies, and all kinds of fattigmann for Christmas."

In America today there is ample evidence of the Scandinavian presence. Colleges of Norwegian heritage include St. Olaf and Concordia Colleges in Minnesota. There are Swedish colleges in Minnesota, Kansas, and Illinois, Danish colleges in Iowa and Nebraska, and a Finnish college in Michigan. Town names and business names attest to the continuing Scandinavian influence. Historical and fraternal organizations, such as the Sons of Norway, thrive in many areas. In Hawley, Minnesota, a genuine Viking ship is being painstakingly recreated to sail across the Atlantic to Norway. Scandinavians have made a contribution to virtually all facets of American life. As America begins its third century, this contribution will continue to be unique and significant.